WASHINGTON CITY.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, MAY 20, 1857. THE GOVERNORSHIP OF UTAH.

A telegraphic despatch was received from Majo McCulloch yesterday, in which he declines the offic recently tendered to him of Governor of Utah Territory. Much as we regret that circumstances have prevented Major McC. from accepting an office the delicate and important duties of which he is so peculiarly well qualified to discharge, we have reason to believe that no time will be lost in the selection of a person with capacity sufficient to meet at once the emergencies and expectations of the country.

POPULATION OF FRANCE IN 1856.

An imperial decree of the 20th December, published in the "Bulletin des Lois," declares that the tables of population annexed (to the decree) shall alone be considered as authentic for five years, commencing with January 1, 1857. These tables are thus classified : Departments of the empire ; arrondissements and cantons; communes of 2,000 souls and upwards; and the chief towns of each arrondissement and canton the population of which is below

The table exhibiting the population by departments is of great length and very minute. It exhibits the following results, which we have aggregated from the interesting details so elaborately set forth

Departments	1	86
Arrondissements	30	13
Cantons	2.8	50
Communes	36,83	26
Population in 185135	783.13	0.7
Population in 185636		
Increase in five years	256,19	
	September 1	77.75
Quite an interesting debate sprung up at the	ne mee	t-
ing of the "Société d'Economie Politique" of	the 5	th
January, 1857, in reference to the exhibits	of th	ie

the census of 1856. M. Leonce De Lavergne, a member of the Institute, stated, in substance, that the total results proved that there was no sensible increase in the number of inhabitants since 1851. A similar result was shown by the census taken at the last epoch. So that during ten years the population of France may be said to be stationary. Without doubt, said M. de Lavergne, emigration

to countries out of Europe-to Africa and Americaentered into the causes of the decrease; but Paris has increased by some 300,000 inhabitants, which, of course, must be lost to other portions of France. Lyons has added 50,000 to its population, and it is the same in respect to the large cities generally. This movement the speaker deemed of grave me ment to the agricultural interests. The complaint was general respecting the want of necessary labor in the fields and the high rates of wages. In many localities, during the past year, women and men, and even children, were forced to assist in cultivating the indispensable articles of subsistence.

Mr. Walowski, also a member, believed that the decrease in the population was, in a great measure, the effect of preventive causes, because the number of births had diminished; and M. Passy was of opinion that various causes combined to produce the result. The scarcity of provisions which continued during three years produced its ordinary effectdiminution in the number of births, as also an increase in the number of deaths, to which are to be added the deaths in the Crimea, deaths from cholera and other epidemics. It was also suggested, as a principal cause of rural migration to the large cities. that the very limited parcels of land subdivided among the farmers were unfavorable to the creation of capital in the country-the small farmers consuming all they could produce. The meeting, however, arrived at no definite conclusion in regard to the grave question under discussion.

In connexion with the subject, it appears from French official publications that the total population

n 1851	35	5,400,486 5,783,170
Showing an increase over In 1856	1846 of36	382,684 5,039,364

Showing an increase over 1851 of----- 256,194 From these figures, it appears that an empire containing a population of 36,000,000 has increased during five years-from 1846 to 1851-only 382,000, and during a second period-from 1851 to 1856- but 256,194. "These two results," as stated by M. de Lavergne, "lead us to suspect the existence of some fundamental evil which obstructs the progress of France." Former censuses exhibit different results. From 1836 to 1841 the population of France increased 653,965. From 1841 to 1846 the increase was 1,170,308. It follows that during the decennial period from 1836 to 1846 the increase was nearly three times greater than during the succeeding decade and in the quinquennial period-from 1841 to 1846nearly five times more than during the five years just closed. These two latter periods mark the two extreme points. The increase in population was at no period so rapid as in the first-from 1841 to 1846when it exceeded 1,170,000 souls; and it never fell so low as in the second-from 1851 to 1856-when the increase was only 256,000. We do not go further back than 1820, when a regular census was first

These facts have furnished to several of the leading journals of Europe the occasion for much ill-natured comment and lengthy editorial diatribes on French decadence and the present rulers of France. The London Times is especially uncourtly and singularly ungracious in its deductions and inuendoesthe more so as its lengthy and elaborate article on "The Decline of France" has been seized upon by the enemies of Napoleon throughout Europe, and even in France, with merciless avidity, and hashed up into petits dishes to suit the palates of every hostile clique. The most remarkable sentence in this extraordinary article is one from which the French Emperor may draw some grains of consolation, even contemplating" with "the New Zealander" the ruins of his metropolis. It is as follows: "Why, indeed, should not the great nations of the present time yield the supremacy to younger rivals ?" If the Times editor had the age of Charlemagne in his mind when he penned the above, Napoleon, after its perusal, may very naturally have paused to inquire how many centuries back would lead him to the primitive days of the Septarchy or the memorable

But we only purpose to present to our readers such facts as we have been able to gather from recent French publications. They speak for themselves, and therefore need no comment.

reign of Alfred the Great.

STILL ANOTHER PLATFORM

It is said of the celebrated Jonathan Oldbuck that in the course of his eventful career he committed micide a score of times; and that at each successive restoration to life he "turned over a new leaf." How often the know-nothing party has "made away" with tself we will not undertake to say; certain it is, owever, that its thick-coming disasters and defeats are always followed by freshly-contructed platforms. The newest article in this line has recently been erected by the know-nothing State convention of l'ennessee. A few of its planks are deserving of a

hasty examination:

Resolved, That the best interests of the country, present and prospective, require a material modification of the naturalization laws, in order to guard against the evils naturalization of our government.

A few months ago know-nothing ism insisted on residence of twenty-one years as a necessary qualification of citizenship for the foreign-born. Now Sam is content with a modification (rather indefinite) of the naturalization laws. And it may be added, that while the northern know-nothings are so jealous about extending the rights of citizenship to white men, they are warm in their advocacy of removing all impediments between the negro and the ballot-

Resolved. That the federal Union being the only safe uard of American liberty, every true patriot so the his best energies to its preservation.

A deep and an abiding love of the Union animate while it preserves the nationality of the democratic party. It was this love of the Union that gave the illustrious Jackson such a fast hold upon the confidence and affections of the American people, and which sustained in triumph the standard-bearers of the democratic party at the last presidential elec-

Resolved, That the systematic agitation of the slavery question has brought our Union into peril, and it is the duty of every American patriot not to interfere with the institutions of other States over which he has no legiti-

The dangers attending the systematic agitation of the slavery question cannot easily be over-stated. But who are these slavery agitators and foes of the Union? Is not Mr. Seward indebted for his seat in the United States Senate to know-nothing votes? and Hale, and Wilson, and Wade, and King? The hewers of this plank are well aware that the slavery agitators would be in a minority in all the northern States were it not for the active sympathy and assistonce of the know-nothings; and yet they impudently talk about peril to the Union and the duty of American patriots! Can the intelligent and patriotic people of Tennessee be deluded by such transparent hy-

OREGON, AND ITS EVIDENCES OF PROSPERITY AND DEVOTION TO LIBERAL AND CORRECT A few years since Oregon was an unknown coun

ry, whose very boundaries were the subject of dipomatic question. Being beyond any defined jurisdiction, her inhabitors organized a temporary government, which was followed in 1848 by a territorial government. Since then Oregon has prospered in a legree beyond the hopes and expectations of the nost ardent and visionary. She has made laws which would do credit to any portion of the Old World, and her executive, administrative, and judicial officers have executed her laws in a manner which would be creditable to the old States of the Union. Oregon now raises all the produce she needs, and manufactures all the lumber and many other things she wants, and much to spare. She has schools and in stitutions of learning, and her settlements include nany most worthy and pious men, who are devoted to the interests of religion. In Congress she is represented by the "Marion of the Mexican war," and one who loves Oregon, her people, and institutions, while he is a democrat who never doubted or faltered in his duty, in the field, at home, or in Congress. She has newspapers, the appearance of which, as well as the matter they contain shows that Oregon is devoted to her own inter ests, as well as those which relate to the Union, while she is enthusiastic in her devotion to democratic principles and the best interests of her people. She will soon enter the family of sisters as a State heretofore been, she will become one of its most valuable jewels. Wisdom, prudence, and virtue will make her what her most sagacious and devoted statesmen desire. If she fails at all in her expectations and her wishes, it will be because she abandons a wise adherence to her own interests and the principles of the democratic party, which no one expects or fears. Her newspapers furnish the best possible evidence that Oregon understands her interests and duty. They are edited and managed by men of talent, skill, and capacity. They are in all respects equal to those of the old States, and must exercise a powerful, healthy, and controlling influence. With such advantages Oregon must assume a high position in the family of States, and become one of the ornaments in the glorious confederacy. Her soil, climate, and institutions, as well as the intelligence, energy, and character of her population, entitle her to the advantages and position which we predict she will hereafter enjoy.

THE CANVASS IN TENNESSEE.

The election in Tennessee for governor, members of Congress, and members of the legislature, takes place on the 3d of August. The gubernatorial canvass will open at Camden on the 25th by speeches from the opposing candidates, Messrs, Harris, democrat, and Hatton, know-nothing. They have made fifty-three appointments for public discussions in differents parts of the State. The Chattanooga Advertiser furnishes the following list of congressional

1st District .- A. G. Watkins, old-line whig; N. G. Taylor, know-nothing.
2d District.—Wayne W. Wallace, democrat; know-nothing candidate not yet selected.
3d District.—Samuel A. Smith, democrat; the know-nothing candidate not known.
4th District.—John H. Savage, democrat; know-noth-

g candidate not out.
5th District.—John K. Howard, democrat; Charles

cady, know-nothing.
6th District.—George W. Jones, democrat; no oppo

7th District. J. V. Wright, democrat; no opposition 8th District.—Democratic candidate not selected; F. 8th District.—Democratic candidate not selected; F. K. Zollicoffer, Kansas-Nebraska know-nothing. 9th District.—J. D. C. Atkins, democrat; E. Etheridge, know-nothing, with black-republican proclivities. 10th District.—W. T. Avery, old-line whig; W. H.

As we stated yesterday, Colonel Howard has de-

The black-republican party comprises within its ranks all the isms of the North. They are socialists, who would subvert and reconstruct society; hence they assail with equal virulence the institutions of the North and those of the South. Their great political leader, Seward, cold, cunning, and learned as he is, has become infected with the prevalent social heresies of the day. His anti-rent doctrines assail the very foundations of the right of property, and his higher-law doctrine would make each man's con science the arbiter of right and wrong, and, in effect, do away with all human government, laws, and institutions. Greeley, the editorial leader of the party, has been for many years an avowed Fourierite. He would destroy the family as it now exists and oop men up in phalanxteries, where the very children are soon to be common property. Although his paper has been for many years the great organ of the isms, and the sedulous assailat of all existing institutions, of the North as well as of the South, its subscription list has gone on to increase till it is now probably more read than any paper in America. Gerrit Smith, Phillips, Goodall, Parker, Garrison, and a host of other distinguished lights among them, are just as open and active in their hostility to Christian marriage and Christian churches as they now exist, to a separate property in lands, or, as they term it, to land monopoly, as to negro slavery. We shall not attempt to define the sphere of action assigned to each, nor the shades of opinion which distinguish them. Suffice it to say that they are equally busy with "assiduous wedges" in the effort to undermine and destroy the whole fabric of society.

Infidels, agrarians, spiritual rappers, women's-rights nen, free-lovers, Fourierites, abolitionists, disunior ists, and socialists of every hue, are the elements which compose the black-republican party. They are equally inimical to, and equally to be dreaded by, the North and the South. The Hiss legislature of Massachusetts, so disgraceful to that State, was but an epitome of the party. They have borrowed their opinions from the Jacobins and red republicans f France, and their uncontrolled ascendency would be as destructive to law, order, and religion as that of the violent infidel socialists of Paris. Abolition is but a small part of their programme, and probably the least noxious of their measures, for that vainly attempts to hurl its weapons against a distant foe, whilst their other schemes are carried on with better prospects of success in the bosom of their own society. We have heard an intelligent gentleman from a State where the isms most abound declare that he considered abolition agitation a mere safetyvalve that kept off ulterior and more dangerous

Never was there such urgent occasion for cordial o-operation of conservatives, North and South ; for common enemy assails everything valuable, sacred, or honorable in the political, social, meral, or religious institutions of either section. But cordial and active co-operation has begun; and conservatism, under the banner of democracy, is winning victory after victory in its conflict with the anarchists. the infidels, and agrarians who still rally around the dark, retreating flag of black republicanism.

A large majority of the people of every sectihe Union are sound and conservative on social and religious, as well as political, subjects. By sedulously representing the South as aggressive, and portrayor slavery as a cruel and wrongful institution, the black republicans, themselves mere destructives and archists, have succeeded in producing a temporary clusion, and exciting sectional hatred and hostility in the minds of many who have no natural affinities with their schemes or their doctrines.

Calm investigation is fast dispelling this delusion. hinning the ranks of the destructives, restoring kindly feelings between the North and the South, and strengthening the already stalwart arm of conservative democracy.

We do not employ the term conservatism as onosed to progress, for true conservatism is progres sive; and it has ever been the pride and boast of the democratic party, that it readily, wisely, and boldly adapts its action to the exigencies and circumstances

and the frequent famine and constant destitution among the laboring classes go far to account for it and excuse it; but nothing can palliate, excuse, or justify it in America, where there are few social vils, no famines, and comparatively little destitution. Never were people so prosperous, and never people so usefully employed, as those of the North and the South. The Giant North already outstrips the world in commerce; whilst she is the portal through which passes an exodus-more nuerous than that which Moses led to Palestineof the poor and oppressed of Europe to regions in the West far broader and more fertile than the Promised Land. Immigration is always attended with suffering, and sometimes entails suffering on the pative laborers of America by temporary gluts of the labor market: but it is, on the whole, a salutary process, attended with far more of good than of evil. It is America's glorious mission to prepare an asylum for the poor and oppressed of Europe, and most nobly does she fulfil it. She adds empire after empire to her domains, but she conquers not by the sword only, but by peaceful purchase, and anexes for the common good of civilized mankind. Her victories are the victories of humanity-her ac nisitions the property of the poor.

If the North be indispensable to mankind in conucting the surplus population of Europe to the rich and mighty West, the South is equally useful and equally indispensable in her peculiar sphere of ac-Her great agricultural surplus goes far to help feed and clothe mankind. There is an annual deficiency of grain in western Europe, and were she cut off from all supplies from the South, and besides ompelled to rear at home some substitute for southern cotton, she would find it physically impossible sustain her population.

Every section of our Union enjoys a prosperity unexampled in the annals of nations, and is sharing that prosperity, as far as practicable, with all of Christendom; yet black republicanism can see nothing to admire, to conserve, and defend in all this. No! in the midst of all this happiness, it meditates and attempts a treason blacker and broader than Catiline's; for he had not learned to sport those nodern isms which would not leave one stone upon another in the edifice of society. And he invited no they begin by invoking servile insurrection.

The great, almost the only political issue now before the country, is between conservatism and socialism, between republican rule and black-republican aparchy.

The democracy defend law, order, government the constitution, private property, marriage, religion-in fine, all the institutions of the North, the South, the East, and the West-against the virulent assaults of the black-republicans.

DEPARTMENT NEWS.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

The New Steam Revenue Cutter. - We understand that the secretary of the Treasury, in accordance with the sealed report of the board of examiners, has accepted the bid of Wm. H. Webb, esq., of New York, for the construction of the new steam revenue cutter to be stationed at New York for the construction of which the sum of \$150,000 wa appropriated by the last Congress.

Proposals embracing plans, models, and sp

to the number of eighteen were presented from different sections of the country, and from those most eminent in their profession; hence the unusual interest felt by the rival bidders, as each looked upon the selection of his plan, model, etc., by the board of examiners (composed of scientific and practical men of the first talent of country, and appointed by the Secretary for this special purpose) as an endorsement of his superior talent and as a claim to the first position in his profession. Too much credit cannot be accorded to Secretary Cobb for his inde-pendent course in adopting the report of the board of exuniners, notwithstanding the tremendous efforts made by ersonal friends in behalf of many of the bidder

INTERIOR DEPARTMENT.

The Pawnee Indians .- The Commissioner of Indian Affairs has received a highly interesting report from Mr. Dennison, agent for the Otoes, Missourias, and Paw nees, in relation to the affairs of his agency. Mr. Den nison, on his way to Omaha, was met by ertson, agent for the Omaha Indians, who informed him that the settlers on Salt creek had been attacked on the 18th ultimo by the Pawnees, and driven in upon the Weeping Water; their houses laid waste, their cattle stole their provisions carried off, and a general warfare declared He immediately took steps to hold communication with the Indians, and succeeded on the 21st in holding "talk" with the chiefs of the several bands of the Paw nees at their village near Cottonwood creek. He found these Indians in a bad condition—barely a thing to cat but corn—their ponies too poor to travel or work—with no powder to shoot game—certain, in many instances, of castigation if they beg. He would ask, therefore, was it improbable, numbering, as they do, between three and four thousand, when pinched by hunger until starvation stares them in the face, brooding all the while on the wrongs they believe have been practised upon them, that they will commit depredations upon the settlers? These very circumstances compel them to be treacherous, and have le them to commit these deeds. The settlers themselves had admitted, that it was their starving condition that drove them to it, and, rather than retaliate, they had submitted with the hope that government would see the necessit of placing them upon a reserve. The fact of the man creek, in and about Chester, to run in from their sattle ments, and to spread consternation wherever they stop On the other hand, the few Indians (only one lodge) ran the other way to escape the whites. The statement of settlers that they had been driven in, their cattle driven off, and their houses ransacked, (but without returning to their settlements to know the actua state of affairs,) caused great excitement on the rive counties, and led to the newspaper exaggeration of the facts. Mr. Dennison had endeavored to state affairs as he found them, and suggested, with a degree of earnest ness which he hoped might attract the attention of the department, that some steps might be taken as soon a racticable in relation to these Indians.

In the council the chiefs did not deny the fact that ome of the young men of the tribe had been guilty of misdemeanors, but none of so serious a nature as to war ant the whites in taking the life of one of their chiefs, They were glad that their "father" had come to visit them, and see their deplorable condition. They thought they were justly entitled to the lands they occupied, but had been encroached upon by the whites, and would be glad to see their "Great Father" at Washington, and en-deavor to make a treaty with him, so that they might be placed on an equal footing with the Otoes, Missourias,

Pre-emption Claimants .- As cases occur in which the local land offices are temporarily closed—sometimes by the death of one or the other of the incumbents, from the pressure of business, or other causes—it is proper that settlers should know that such temporary close will not operate to their prejudice. The ruling under the preemption act of 1841, and its supplement of 1843, is to this effect: That a claimant shall be allowed such a time from the date of his application, after the reopening of the local office, to prove up and pay for his claim, as, when added to the period which had elapsed from the date of his settlement to the closing of the office, will be equal to twelve months, that being the time given him for that purpose in the statute.

Resignation - Jacob A. Shindle, of Pennsylvania, ha resigned his clerkship in the Pension Office.

NAVY DEPARTMENT

nts. - We understand that the following apments have been made : Algernon S. Garnett to be an assistant surgeon in the

Rev. Charles A. Davis to be a chaplain in the United

ISTHMUS OF DARIEN.

It will be seen (says the Baltimore American) from the following extract from a letter to a gentleman on board the frigate Independence that Assistant Surgeon Caldwell, attached to that ship, has made an exploration across the isthmus, along the route which Engineer Gisborne, of England, stated to be practicable for a ship canal. This is the same route, too. it will be recollected, which Lieut. Strain, in a letter to the Secretary of the Navy, reported to be utterly impracticable :

UNITED STATES FRIGATE INDEPEND

Bay of Panama, May 3, 1857.

Our Assistant Surgeon Caldwell has just returned fro
a expedition he set out on a call of the control of the con an expedition he set out on nearly six weeks ago. He started with one man from the ship, and guides obtained started with one man from the ship, and guides obtained from Painogana, to attempt crossing the isthmus at the route which Gisborne (civil engineer, England) said was practicable. He ascended the Rio Savanne to Principe, about thirty miles, and from thence started towards Cal-edonia bay, crossing and recrossing the Savanne river some four times in as many hours. The country he rep-resents as gradually ascending for the first ten miles to, he would think, less than two hundred feet elevation, and then anceared gradually decembing to the Atlantic. then appeared gradually descending to the Atlantic-being a level country, covered with undergrowth, and lit-

The day before arriving at the position from which he The day before arriving at the presence of such as we the Atlantic his guide left him, refusing to go further. He went on without him to within about five miles of Caledonia bay, and from a tree saw the Atlantic and gorge than the such as the same and the same arrivers of the same Caledonia bay, and from a tree saw the Atlantic and gorge (quebrada) which Gisborne mentions on his being turned back by the "Mindingo Indians." Here, suffering greatly for water, there being none in the vicinity, their provisions being short, and their nearest supply twenty-four hours off, he reluctantly turned back. I consider, from conversations that I have had heretofore with Dr. Black on Gisborne's route, previous to the ineffectual attempt that Mr. Strain made at exploration, that Dr. Caldwell has settled the matter; and now all that is required is a regularly-organized party to run on the route, take observations, &c.; and the sconer the better, as the marks that Dr. Caldwell has left of his path are now fresh, and will possibly be obliterated by the fall, or perhaps the next spring. fresh, and will possibly be obliterated by th

As we stated yesterday, Colonel Howard has declined the democratic nomination for Congress in the slaves to his standard till driven into Spain; whilst has been started at Cleveland, Tennessee. W. P. Collins,

THE CHINESE WAR.

Though the government of the United States, for reasons which we presume were thought quite suffi-cient, has deemed it proper to respond to what is un-questionably the general sentiment of the American people, in declining to take any steps that may event-ually lead to a rupture with China, yet we believe it has no disposition to question the right of Great Britain to make war on the Celestial empire, or Per-sia, or any other distant nation she chooses. All the sia, or any other distant nation she chooses. All the United States claim is the right of doing as they please, and judging for themselves whether to keep the peace, or become either principals or auxiliaries in a remote war, the justice of which—on their part,

at least—is more than questionable.

Neither do they, we presume, aspire to become the censors of nations, or to sit in judgment on their acts, and decide on their justice or expediency. For ourself, therefore, as a mere individual, we shall at present be silent on these points, except so far as present be shent on these points, except so far as may be necessary to our own justification. But we trust it will not be considered an impertinent inter-ference, or a violation of national courtesy, if we take this occasion to speculate a little on the possi-ble, not to say probable, consequences of this second opium war, as it may be called, for we think all must see that it originates in the same causes that pro-duced the first.

duced the first.

The general impression in Great Britain is, without doubt, that the present, like the former war, will be successfully and triumphantly terminated in a single campaign. The Chinese, they say, have been at peace almost from time immemorial; they are totally ignorant of the art of war, and have lost every at peace almost from time immemoriar; they are totally ignorant of the art of war, and have lost every
vestige of martial spirit, if they ever had any. All
this may be true; yet still there may be other causes
that will render such a people somewhat formidable
when once roused to resistance. We apprehend it
is no easy matter to subjugate or coerce an empire
4,000 miles in length and 2,000 in breadth, inhabited by 350,000,000 of people, united under one sovereign, exercising all the prerogatives of the old patriarchical system. It took England more than a
century of wars and intrigues to subjugate Hindostan, comprising only half the number of inhabitants,
equally unwarlike, and governed by a rabble of
princes who were used as clubs by the British for
knocking out each other's brains.

It may be said that England does not aim at the
immediate subjugation of China; that she will most
likely adopt the policy heretofore pursued towards
Hindostan, and proceed step by step, by little and
little, till the object is attained. But we are given
to understand that Lord Elgin is instructed to demand, among other concessions, that an addi-

to understand that Lord Eight is instructed to de-mand, among other concessions, that an addi-tional number of Chinese ports shall be opened to foreign commerce, and that for the protection of that commerce Great Britain shall be permitted to erect fortifications not only there, but wherever she

creet fortifications not only there, but wherever she has a consular establishment. It is unnecessary to indicate the almost inevitable result of these concessions. These ports will be virtually in possession of Great Britain, and prove the germ of future encroachments. With that power the privileges of trade are but too often the precursors of sovereignty. It was thus with the Belize. The privilege of cutting log-wood, conceded by a treaty with Spain, which expressly excluded the right of sovereignty, or any other right, has been gradually ripened into a right to hold possession of the whole country, and to exercise over it all the powers of government. So, too, with the territory on the northwest coast of America, formerly known as Nootka Sound—a possession of the Crown of Spain. That power had conceded to Great Britain the naked right of trading with the Indians on the coast and in the interior, expressly Indians on the coast and in the interior, expressly reserving to itself all the rights of sovereignty, and on this concession, and this alone, Great Britain claimed a right to the possession of the whole Territory of Oregon. We refer to these facts not with a view to revive old grievances, or aggravate existing ones but merely to augreest the probability isting ones, but merely to suggest the probabilithat the concession on the part of China of the rig of Great Britain to erect forts and fortifications at h principal ports has, as Patrick Henry said, "an awful squinting" towards the future subjugation of the Celestial cunpire; and that this is one of the dreams

Celestial empire; and that this is one of the dreams of Englishmen we have no doubt.

But we are rather inclined to think this policy may not prove so successful in that quarter as it has been in the West. It will be borne in mind that China is not a commercial State, but, on the contrary, decidedly anti-commercial; and that Canton and the other ports that have been totally opened are scarcely considered integral parts of the Empire. The government itself and the great body of people in the interior, who constitute the nation and the depository of the great national characteristics, look upon those who are in the habit of associating with the "outside barbarians" as in some measure expatriated. side barbarians" as in some measure expatriated and it is probable that neither the sovereign nor the and it is probable that neither the sovereign nor the people will make any great sacrifices to preserve them. The writer of a very sensible letter in the Journal of Commerce, long resident in China, says they are viewed as mere "outsiders," what they call in our great cities "long-shore men," a sort of excreseence which, though growing out of, does not belong to, the body-politic. The possession of the great foreign marts would, therefore, we apprehend, go but little way in subjecting the Empire.

But it would be very different were a foreign power to attempt penetrating into the interior. The

power to attempt penetrating into the interior. The Chinese don't want patriotism; and that very nation, of all other nations, being barbarians, by inflating their pride, necessarily attaches them to their country and its institutions. National pride is twin-brother to belief that whenever the period arrives in which the Chinese people shall become conscious that their government and institutions are in danger of being overthrown, they will rally in their support with almost unparalleled unanimity. True, they may be unwarlike, and effeminate, but they are not cowards, warnee, and eneminate, but they are not cowards since no people in the world are so prodigal of their own lives, as is evidenced in the suicide of so many of these wretched dupes, or kidnapped victims whom British philanthropy is laboring to substitute for African slaves. however this may be, we think there are

strong indications that the British ministry and the British nation look forward with entire confidence to the complete success of the present war, at least so far as respects the attainment of the objects for which it is said to be prosecuted. We apprehend there is great danger they will be disappointed. If we are correct, as we believe we are, in our view of the relations of the commercial cities with the Chinese empire, it will be impossible to coerce or intimidate the commercial cities with the Chinese empire, it will be impossible to coerce or intimidate the commercial cities with the Chinese empire, it will be impossible to coerce or intimidate the commercial cities with the Chinese empire, it will be impossible to coerce or intimidate the commercial cities with the content of the coerce o nese empire, it will be impossible to coerce or intin-idate the government by taking possession of them, The assailants must then penetrate into the interior, and either menace or obtain possession of Pekin, or at least intimidate the Emperor into submission. Let us briefly consider the probability of their being able to do either one or the other. In the first place, China contains three hundred, perhaps three hundred and fifty, millions of people; and we may despise them individually as much as

and we may despise them individually as much as we please, but such numbers must always be formidable. It is a great hive full of bees, and if they can do nothing else they can sting. They will make up for the absence of other means of defence by poisoning the bread and waters, and by a resort to all these expedients of under and treadware which the those expedients of underhand treachery which the weak feel themselves justified in employing against the strong when their firesides, their altars, their property, and their lives are at stake. We may arproperty, and the samuch as we please, but ignorant gue against this as much as we please, but ignorant people will do these things when they cannot protect themselves by any other mode. They consider the themselves by any other mode. They consider the natural right of defending themselves as justifying

natural right of defending themselves as justifying every means of defence.

In the second place, all who have ever heard anything about China know that, so far from producing any surplus of the necessaries of life, the mass of the people are obliged to practise every expedient of industry and economy to keep soul and body together. Every inch of land is made to produce to the utmost extent of its capacity by the application of labor and manure, and a resort is had to food at which the stomach of the most destitute beggar of the United manure, and a resort is had to food at which the stomach of the most destitute beggar of the United States would revolt. With the exception of the more wealthy class, not a man has a crumb to spare; and, even in ordinary seasons, people not unfrequently die of hunger in the midst of their fellow-creatures the of nunger in the misst of their febou-creatures because they cannot relieve them without starving themselves. A failure of the crop of rice in one province is the invariable precursor of a famine, because the neighboring provinces cannot spare any portion from their own wants to supply those of

overy article of food necessary to its existence; and if it remained in the country procure its supplies. Heaven knows where—from home, or from some remote region, perhaps thousands of miles distant. This would doubtless be a difficult matter, and withal rather expensive. But cousin John don't mind money when his honor is in question—at least so he says. Like the little man in the nursery song the learned and critical Chancellor of the Excheque may since or says: may sing or say:

"My means they are but small, But you'll have my little all, And the rest we can borrow, borrow, borrow."

But you'll have my little all,

And the rest we can borrow, borrow, borrow."

The probability is, however, that Great Britain relies principally for the successful result of this war on the weakness and pusillanimity of the Emperor of China. She hopes to frighten him into submission, having once before succeeded. But things are naterially changed since that happened. There is new party that will probably have a finger in the pia. "The "great northern monster" (as the London Times used to call him) is not probably "laid so ha on his back" (as the aforesaid Times likewise used to say) but that he may be able to kick a little. It is not probable—nay, it is quite inconceivable—that Russia can be an indifferent spectator of this quarrel. We do not see how it is possible for her to avoid taking a deep interest, if not an active part, whether secret or open, in a war which involves, if not the existence, at least the independence, of a great empire lying at her very threshold, and whose subjugation or subserviency would so greatly increase the power of her great rival in the East.

We take it for granted, at least, that the influence of Russia at the court of Pekin—which we have no doubt is now paramount to that of any other foreign power—will be greatly increased by China become ing in some measure dependent on her for support in the coming struggle, and, of course, exerted in preventing the older brother of the sun and moon from showing the white feather. Without any palpable breach of neutrality or violation of treaty, Russia may materially assist in various ways in sustaining a neighboring, friendly power; and that she will net

showing the wanter breach of neutrality or violation of treaty, Russia breach of neutrality or violation of treaty, Russia may materially assist in various ways in sustaining a neighboring, friendly power; and that she will not do so is to suppose the spirit of Peter the Great became extinct with the Emperor Nicholas.

On the whole, therefore, we can conceive it possible that the Chinese war may not result in the absolute triumph of Great Britain; and in saying that we simply express an opinion, not a wish. Though

we simply express an opinion, not a wish. Though not willing that the United States should become a party in the contest, we are not partisans of Chipa except so far as that we cannot bring ourse ves is party in the contest, we are not partisans of Chipa except so far as that we cannot bring ourselves to wish success to what we conceive to be a captions unnecessary, and unjust war, which, at all events must result in an interruption of our commerce wis China—for what length of time and to what extent it is impossible to conjecture, as no one can forcell the duration of the war, and it is not at all unlikely that Great Britain may declare all the ports of China in a state of blockade. Were we the enemies of Great Britain we should contemplate this war with much more complacency, believing, as we do, that under the most favorable circumstances, it will result in throwing China into the arms of Russia, in a vastacumulation of debt, and a series of disappointment, But this is no affair of ours, and we are mere look ers-on. We have no objection to our cousin John making war on Persia, China, or any other power at reasonable distance, provided he don't insist on the United States becoming a party. We think, however, that we understand what is due to ourselves and others quite as well as cousin John, and that it is bad policy, as well as bad manners, to call us hard names and abuse us for a set of ignorant blockheads, who don't understand which side our bread is buttered, because we declined to "co-operate in the magnificent enterprise" of civilizing China, as Great Britain has civilized Hindoston. As before stated, we believe the United States have not the slightest disposition to interfere with the policy of Great Britain in the East—we will not say as much for the West—butaths same time we think we may venture to predict that neither bullying nor wheedling, flattery nor abuse, on

East—we will not say as much for the West—butatthe same time we think we may venture to predict that neither bullying nor wheedling, flattery nor abuse, on the part of the British press, or the Anglo-Ameri-can press in the United States, will bring about a co-alition (or co-operation, as it is termed) between the "Great Republic of the West" and the Great Cham-"Great Republic of the West" and the Great Champion of Givilization in what is believed an unjust and unnecessary war. A fellowship of this kind once begun would naturally lead to something its an entente cordiale, which must invariably end in total alienation. Once linked in with the policy of Great Britain, there might be imminent danger that the United States would be lugged into almost perpetual wars—in other words, perpetual co-operation. The English, though not a martial, are a pugnacious people. War is almost always popular with the ",, since, whether successful or not, nothing is more easy than to make them believe it has had a gle rious termination. Their insular position and their wooden walk protect them from all the domestic evils of war; their fields are never devastated, their firesides disturbed, or their altars overthrown; and if the burdens of the nation are increased, a great portion is shifted on or their altars overthrown; and if the burdens of the nation are increased, a great portion is shifted of the shoulders of posterity. Their history shows they are always ready for war, and a "plucky minister" is almost sure to be the popular idol. To make common cause with such a nation is therefore dangerous. Let us be friends, if you please, but not allies. Let us shake hands, but not fall into hugging and kissing.

A RETIRED STATESMAN.

DANGER OF EXTREMES. It is an old maxim in law and philosophy that antiquity professed their belief in this principle, and made it the groundwork of their teachings. Wherever it has flourished we find a certain stability of government, a slow, but sure, progress in the enlightenment of the pub Therever we see it disregarded aparchy and misrule have been the inevitable consequence. The republics of Greece and Rome tottered and fell because hey ignored it, and the modern republics of Europe are treading in the footsteps of their colossal progenitors Scarcely a vestige of the mighty spirit that shook the thrones of Europe to their foundations in 1848 is now visible in the workings of its institutions. Brief was the struggle for independence, and violent its termination.
Unable to govern themselves, the revolutionists have

fallen once more into the ranks of king-ridden nations.

Here is a salutary lesson that deserves our serious at tention. In no case is the avoidance of extremes, the practice of moderation, more necessary than with a people who govern themselves. The science of self-government was first inaugurated on this continent, and her it must sink or swim. The capacity for self-governmen Let | is derived from the superior intellectual vigor of our race. Knowledge certainly is power; hence the intelligent poor ple become the source of power. But, say the alarmists, power is the handmaid of ambition, which poisons, ultimately, the fountain of government. This is unfortuately the case, and it is this evil that all lovers of the government under which we live ought strenuously to avoid. If knowledge be power, it may also be the parent of wisdom, which is the twin-sister of prudence. These are the antidotes for the evil of extremism, and with these safeguards our theory of government will last for

What obtains in law and philosophy is equally true in the discussion of national topics. In our dealings with individuals, whose opinions on matters of vital importance are at variance with our own, we notice that the less we are disposed to give them credit for sincerity the more and tenacious they become. And when these opinions have no foundation in reason or common requires as much prudence as firmness to meet and n form them. Where the elements of society are of a un form character, boldness in word or action is not likely to arouse hostility; but in a community such as oursomposed of the most heterogeneous materials it cannot fail to be met with a corresponding spirit.

The world is now in a state bordering upon maines on the subject of liberty. From having been a clear definable idea, harmonizing with the faculty from which t sprung, it has been converted into a hideous deformity by the effort of diseased minds. Never since her fin appearance on earth has the fair goddess been so foully bedaubed as she now is by certain pseudo-apostles of free dom. Our forefathers carried her hither in their manif others. The bees are teo numerous for the hive.

Suppose, then, a foreign army should attempt to penetrate into the interior of this country, or to retain possession of any portion; it must take with it instrument that gave us national life had this quality. It nent that gave us national life had this quality. It